

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 05157 251001Z

11

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

----- 065179

O 250838Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2541

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 5157

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, SP, US

SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER: US/SPANISH NEGOTIATIONS

1. I CALLED ON PRIME MINISTER ARIAS AFTERNOON JULY 24 FOR GENERAL DISCUSSION PRIOR TO HIS MEETING WITH PRESIDENT IN HELSINKI NEXT WEEK. HE SAID HE HAD RECEIVED ONLY SKETCHY INFORMATION SO FAR ON LAST NEGOTIATING ROUND IN WASHINGTON, ALTHOUGH HE UNDERSTOOD THAT NEXT ROUND WOULD BEGIN IN MADRID ON AUGUST 18. HE COMMENTED THAT THAT WOULD NOT ALLOW A GREAT DEAL OF TIME TO REACH AGREEMENT PRIOR TO LATE SEPTEMBER.

2. I TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER THAT ONE OF THE PROBLEMS WAS THE UNREALISTIC POSITION OF THE GOS WITH REGARD TO ITS EXPECTATION THAT WE COULD CHANGE THE ATTITUDE OF CERTAIN NATO COUNTRIES CONCERNING SPANISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO WESTERN DEFENSE. I SAID THAT WE HAD TRIED IN BRUSSELS, BUT THAT WE WERE NOT IN A POSITION TO FORCE THE NATO COUNTRIES TO ADOPT A NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD SPAIN. OUR VIEWS REGARDING SPANISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO WESTERN DEFENSE WERE WELL KNOWN AND WHAT WE FOUND DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WAS WHY, IF SPAIN AND US SHARED THE SAME OBJECTIVE TOWARD WESTERN DEFENSE, SPAIN WOULD WISH TO COMPROMISE OVERALL WESTERN DEFENSE BY REDUCING US FACILITIES. US WOULD BE "PUNISHED" AND WESTERN DEFENSES SERIOUSLY HAMPERED FOR ATTITUDES OVER WHICH IN FINAL ANALYSIS WE HAVE NO CONTROL.

3. PRIME MINISTER ARIAS SAID THAT SPAIN DID NOT ASK TO JOIN NATO, BUT DID EXPECT THAT NATO COUNTRIES WOULD RECOGNIZE IN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 05157 251001Z

SOME CONCRETE FORM CONTRIBUTIONS WHICH SPAIN IS MAKING TO

WESTERN DEFENSE. THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS IN MADRID CONCERNING THE VALUE OF SPANISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE WERE REGARDED SERIOUSLY IN SPAIN AND IT WAS EXPECTED THAT PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCES WOULD FLOW IN TERMS OF APPRECIATION BY NATO COUNTRIES OF SPAIN'S ROLE. IT WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO SPAIN TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEFENSE OF CERTAIN OF THE NATO COUNTRIES WHICH IN TURN NOT ONLY REVEILED SPAIN, BUT INTERVENED IN SPANISH INTERNAL AFFAIRS. IT WAS INDEED A MOCKERY TO BE ATTENDING A CONFERENCE IN HELSINKI IN WHICH ALL PARTIES CONCERNED WOULD AGREE NOT TO INTERFERE WITH THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE OTHERS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME KNOWING THAT CERTAIN OF THE NATO COUNTRIES WOULD NOT LIVE UP TO SUCH AN OBLIGATION VIS-A-VIS SPAIN.

4. ARIAS WENT ON THAT THE OTHER SOLUTION WOULD BE A BILATERAL GUARANTEE BY THE US, BUT HERE IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE SENATE. IN ADDITION, US SEEMED TO HAVE PROBLEMS WITH REGARD TO MEETING THE MODERNIZATION NEEDS OF THE SPANISH ARMED FORCES. ARIAS SAID THAT IF NATO WOULD NOT RECOGNIZE SPANISH CONTRIBUTIONS, IF THE US SENATE WOULD NOT ACCEPT A GUARANTEE, AND IF THERE WERE PROBLEMS WITH REGARD TO THE QUID, THEN GOS HAD THE CHOICE OF EITHER TOTALLY CAPITULATING OR OF SEEKING OTHER FORMULAS. SPANISH PUBLIC OPINION WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY SENSITIVE TO THE RISKS INVOLVED IN US PRESENCE AND THE GOS WAS OBLIGED TO TAKE THIS OPINION INTO ACCOUNT. HE RECOGNIZED THE DIFFICULT FOR US OF TRYING TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN FACILITIES IMPORTANT IN A BILATERAL SENSE AND THOSE IMPORTANT IN THE NATO CONTEXT. HOWEVER, GOS UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES SIMPLY COULD NOT ACCEPT THE CONTINUATION OF THE PREVIOUS SITUATION.

5. I TOLD PRIME MINISTER THAT THE WAY HE PRESENTED THE PROBLEM IT ALMOST LOOKED AS IF THERE WAS NO BASIS FOR AN AGREEMENT. WHILE I WAS CERTAIN THAT THIS DID NOT CORRESPOND WITH EXPRESSED DESIRE OF GOS FOR DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP WITH US, I COULD ONLY POINT OUT THAT THE PRESENT DIALOGUE IN WHICH WE CONTINUED TO GO BACK AND FORTH OVER THESE SAME POINTS WAS LEADING US NOWHERE.

6. THE PRIME MINISTER CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT SPAIN DESIRED A DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US AND THAT HE WAS CERTAIN THAT

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 05157 251001Z

SOME ACCEPTABLE FORMULA WOULD BE FOUND. HE LOOKED FORWARD TO DISCUSSING THE PROBLEM WITH THE PRESIDENT IN THE HOPE THAT SUCH A DISCUSSION WOULD MOVE THE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD.

COMMENT: THE PRIME MINISTER APPEARS TO HAVE ACCEPTED THE CORTINA LINE AND AT THE MOMENT I FIND IT DIFFICULT TO SEE WHAT FORMULA WILL GET AROUND SPANISH CONCERNS. ARIAS SEEMS TO BE AS EAGER AS CORTINA TO DEMONSTRATE TO CERTAIN OF THE

NATO COUNTRIES THAT THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS CANNOT GO
ON. BY THE SAME TOKEN, HE IS NOT QUITE SURE HOW TO DO THIS
WITHOUT SERIOUSLY COMPROMISING THE RELATIONSHIP WITH US.
STABLER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY ASSISTANCE, NEGOTIATIONS, MILITARY BASES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MADRID05157
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750257-0219
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750722/aaaaatx.tel
Line Count: 119
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23 APR 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <24 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER: US/SPANISH NEGOTIATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, MARR, SP, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006